

U.S. policies of isolation and boycott, and suggest that he would like a change of course in United States-Cuban relations. He clearly wants to renew Cuba's close trading ties with the United States and he clearly reflects a desire on the part of the Soviet Union to be freed of its \$1 million a day aid burden in Cuba.

Speaking as a former American Foreign Service officer who has opposed and sought to block the Communists on a day-to-day basis, it seems to me that now is the time for us to really get tough with the Castro regime. The overture from Havana would indicate that our policy to date has been somewhat of a success, but this is no reason for immediately acceding to the wishes of the Castro regime. We should, of course, stand ready to enter into talks with the Castro regime, if they evidence a sincere desire to do so. But we should take advantage of the position of ascendancy into which our recent and present policies have placed us and use that position to exact maximum concessions from the Castro government. Above all we should guard against responding with such eagerness to the Castro overture that we waste our leverage and needlessly subscribe to deals that would not be to our advantage.

The premier, in his long interview with Mr. Eder, did promise a constitution by January 1, 1969, but he indicated strongly that the constitutional government he was thinking of would be a one-party Communist state. This is certainly not a very appealing project to the thousands of Cuban exiles who have come to our shores, and who would like to go back—if and when they can enjoy the status of equal freemen in a democratic society which accommodates those who out of power as well as those who are in.

This is one time when it is to our advantage to sit tight and not agree to an accommodation until Castro shows a tendency to remove some of the elements of friction that he has created. I am thinking particularly of restoring our water supply at Guantanamo, releasing some political prisoners or otherwise taking positive steps to alleviate tension.

In the meantime, if Fidel Castro finds it uncomfortably strenuous to subsidize revolutions elsewhere in Latin America, if he is feeling the effects of a diminished flow in the Moscow pipeline, if he is made nervous by the impatient menacings of thousands of displaced Cubans who would like to come home, and if he would like more spare parts from the United States—he should perhaps be compelled to contemplate these unpleasant circumstances a while longer as part of the facts of life for a practicing Communist in the Western Hemisphere. He might conclude in time that the only sure road to success is a basic political reform which allows room for his opposition to live on the same island.

It is, to be sure, encouraging that Premier Castro has seen fit to open the door for conversation. And it is especially encouraging that he is welcoming U.S. newsmen to Cuba so that we may begin to get a fuller view of what life is like there. We should certainly be prepared to enter into a continuing dialogue

with him. But we must make it clear, at every step of the way, that the screws are on, and will stay on, until he changes his ways.

#### EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, July 22, 1964]  
RAUL CASTRO SAYS CUBA IS READY TO JOIN UNITED STATES AT BARGAINING TABLE

SANTIAGO, CUBA, July 21.—Cuba is ready to meet the United States at the bargaining table "anywhere, anytime, and discuss whatever would be necessary" to iron out problems between the two nations, Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro said today.

But for such a possible reconciliation move to succeed, Castro said, "there must be no previous conditions demanded" by each country.

In Washington, the State Department declined comment on Castro's statements.

Castro was asked in a news conference with foreign newsmen if this meant Cuba would abandon the five points set forth by his brother, Premier Fidel Castro, in the October 1962 missile crisis, as essential conditions to be met prior to any negotiations.

Raul answered, "I repeat that if we would have negotiations, they would have to be without any previous conditions."

#### VISITED TOWN NEAR BASE

Fidel Castro has demanded American withdrawal from Guantanamo Naval Base, suspension of surveillance flights, suspension of aid to "internal subversion," lifting of the economic blockade, and suspension of "aggressive incursions against Cuba."

The younger Castro invited a group of foreign correspondents yesterday to fly with him to Guantanamo, the Cuban town about 20 miles from the U.S. base.

Castro took the newsmen to a funeral for a Cuban soldier, Ramon Lopez Pena, who the Cuban Government charged was killed by U.S. Marines on sentry duty at the Guantanamo border Sunday night.

Later the group went to Santiago and Castro spoke with newsmen until early this morning.

At the Guantanamo cemetery, Castro referred to the soldier's death and said there are some "circles in the United States conducting an aggressive and adventurous policy against Cuba."

Castro said there was an interest in provoking Cuba into an armed attack on the base but said Cuba will "continue its current policy of abstaining from the use of force against the base."

Castro's speech was surprisingly mild and appeared to reflect the new attitude of his brother, who recently expressed willingness to seek an accommodation with the United States.

The purpose in "goading Cuba" is to force President Johnson to declare war on Cuba, Castro declared. He said if the President did not, "he would be supplying (Senator BARRY) GOLDWATER with his best card."

Castro said Cuba did not consider President Johnson responsible for Guantanamo border incidents but blamed those "infiltrated reactionaries" which he said were in the Johnson administration.

The U.S. State Department has denied that a Marine killed the Cuban soldier. The Department said an investigation by the base commander indicated that Marines, provoked by shots from a Cuban guard post, fired one shot over the heads of the Cuban sentries. However, the report said, observation of the Cuban guard post indicated that no one was hurt.

#### DENIES CUBANS FIRED

Raul denied the State Department claim that Cuban soldiers had fired upon American sentries.

"We do not need to do this," Castro said. "If we would wish to provoke the United

States, we would simply use one of the rockets we have and shoot down a U-2 plane."

Castro said his brother's offer to withdraw Cubans watchposts 100 yards to a point 150 yards from the Guantanamo border still stands and said in fact "some posts have already been moved back."

During his Santiago interview he rejected a State Department demand that Russian soldiers be withdrawn from Cuba as a condition for negotiations.

"The American Government is not entitled to impose conditions upon us. We like Soviet soldiers," Castro said.

In his speech last night, he asked the audience whether they wanted Soviet troops to leave and they shouted in reply "No." He asked whether they wanted the United States to withdraw from Guantanamo and the crowd shouted "Yes."

[From the New York Times, July 6, 1964]

CASTRO PROPOSES DEAL TO HALT AID TO LATIN REBELS—CUBAN PREMIER WANTS U.S. PROMISE THAT HELP FOR HIS FOES WILL END—ATTITUDE CONCILIATORY—HE PLEDGES A CONSTITUTION BY 1969—PARTY WILL STILL HOLD SUPREME POWER

(By Richard Eder)

HAVANA, July 5.—Premier Fidel Castro said last night that Cuba would commit herself to withhold material support from Latin American revolutionaries if the United States and its American allies would agree to cease their material support of subversive activity against Cuba.

In the most emphatic bid he has made in recent years for easing relations with the United States, Dr. Castro said he did not exclude the use of some international means to supervise such a joint commitment, although his personal view was that this would not be necessary.

During an 18-hour interview that took place over 3 days, Dr. Castro gave definite form to rumors and hints that have been circulating about his desire to explore a rapprochement with the United States.

He suggested that the time had come when an extensive discussion of issues between the two countries would be profitable. He said Cuba's leaders were now more mature and the United States had given some indications—notably through the Alliance for Progress—that it was willing to accept a degree of social change in Latin America.

#### GUARDS TO BE WITHDRAWN

Dr. Castro announced that, as "a contribution on our part to avoid incidents," the Cuban guards around the Guantanamo Naval Base would be pulled back to a distance of several hundred yards from the fence at the base. At present they are stationed about 50 yards away, he said.

He reported that he was happy to say that since July 1 provocations he has charged to the U.S. Marine guards had dwindled from 9 or 10 daily to only 1 or 2 a day.

Turning to national affairs, Dr. Castro said the Cuban revolutionary government would give way to a constitutional one not later than January 1, 1969.

He asserted that a Socialist constitution would be adopted before the 10th anniversary of the revolution, "perhaps considerably before."

He also gave a general invitation to his friends to complete the formation of this country's Communist Party, the United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution.

#### FARM TOURS INTERRUPT

Part of the interview consisted of two extensive tours of farms and beaches around Havana, during which the Premier exhibited a dozen experimental areas devoted to the subject that currently engrosses him—the raising of Holstein cattle for milk and meat.

Riding in the rear seat of a blue sedan and followed by three carloads of guards, Dr. Castro raced along the streets and highways, coming to dozens of quick stops.

He jumped in and out of the car, sloshed through mud, prodded calves, talked about Cuba's agricultural future, questioned sunbathers, burst in on startled officeworkers and collared students to tell them why they should become technicians instead of bureaucrats.

Since Dr. Castro will not talk politics when he is near a cow, the substance of the interview was provided during three night sessions, two in his penthouse apartment, one at a house he sometimes uses in a Havana suburb.

Dr. Castro's apartment is a walkup on the fifth floor of a building in a heavily guarded street in the Vedado section. His house-keeping is done by Celia Sanchez, his assistant, who lives below.

Halfway between the floor and the ceiling of the living room is a platform, reachable by a ladder, which Dr. Castro had put in as an office.

Dr. Castro was obviously eager to make his statements about the United States as conciliatory as possible. There was an almost total absence of bellicose pronouncements, and several times he restated his points, invariably altering them for the milder.

He hesitated for a while in answering a question about political prisoners, saying he did not want to introduce a discordant note into the interview.

Dr. Castro said one result of normalizing relations with the United States would be the release of about 90 percent of the political prisoners now held. These amount to "something under 15,000," he said, conceding that "this is a great many."

#### INDEMNITY TALKS HINTED

A later result, he said, would be discussions about indemnifying U.S. companies whose properties have been seized.

This would have to wait upon the resumption of trade with the United States "since we could not afford it until then."

There has been no doubt in the minds of the diplomatic community here that the question of trade, and the ending of raids and sabotage from abroad, are Dr. Castro's two main objectives in his efforts to explore the possibility of a relaxation of tensions between Cuba and the United States.

Indicating publicly what has privately been taken for granted for some time, Dr. Castro hinted strongly that the Soviet Union had been counseling a bettering of relations with the United States.

"The spirit that has always been shown by the Soviet Union has been to interest itself in the diminishing of tensions and the bettering of relations," he said.

Dr. Castro said that if the United States broke off economic relations with every country that had a Socialist revolution it would eventually be isolated.

#### SUGAR CALLED A BARGAIN

He said the United States would do much better to buy Cuban sugar than to try to expand the expensive sugarbeet industry. Likewise, there were many things that Cuba needed to buy from the United States.

In this suggestion of something approaching a resumption of the former pattern of trade relations, Dr. Castro said it would have to be on a basis of equality, with no preferential treatment.

If too much time goes by, he warned, Cuba will have acquired firm trading patterns with Eastern and Western Europe and it will be too late to restore trade with the United States, even if relations improve.

Dr. Castro said that at present "the most delicate and grave problem between Cuba and the United States" was the overflights by U-2 reconnaissance planes. Cuba will put her complaint about this before the General

Assembly of the United Nations when it meets in November, he said.

He declared repeatedly, however, that although Cuba reserved her right to shoot down the planes, he was convinced that the matter would be settled peacefully. He said that "while we exhaust diplomatic means, there is time left for settlement."

#### WAITING ON U.S. ELECTIONS

Dr. Castro did not say when or in what form he believed talks with the United States should be held. He has previously indicated his belief that until the U.S. presidential elections are over, it will be difficult to accomplish much.

He made it clear in the interview that he was counting on a victory by President Johnson over Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona, whom he mentioned as the presumptive Republican candidate.

"If there is a desire for talks, a form of holding them will suggest itself," he said. He indicated that these would probably be private, but restated his view that a formal initiative, even if not a public one, should come from the United States since he holds Washington largely to blame for the present state of relations.

The Cuban leader said that, although he would have no objection to diplomatic relations with the United States, he believed these should wait until some issues between the two nations were solved.

"At present the Swiss Embassy is a good channel," he said.

Switzerland handles U.S. interests in Cuba. The Swiss Ambassador, Emil Stadelhofer, who is one of his country's ablest diplomats and has good personal relations with Dr. Castro, has often gone beyond the routine functions of his post to serve as an informal channel for getting Dr. Castro's views to Washington and vice versa.

Dr. Castro said the political climate in the United States would make it difficult for the American people to accept the idea of renewed relations as things stand now. Only when the sharp edges of the quarrel between the two countries are softened somewhat, he indicated would it be possible to take such a formal step.

#### AID TO REBELS ADMITTED

In an armchair in his woodpaneled living room, Dr. Castro discussed the question of subversion. He has not denied that Cuba has furnished aid to rebels in other parts of Latin America, although European Communist sources here insist that such aid has stopped entirely or almost entirely since the beginning of the year.

Dr. Castro's thesis is that if one side violates an international norm—he holds that the United States has done so by aiding anti-Castro rebels—the other side has a right to do so as well.

"But we could discuss this question with the United States," he said. "If they're ready to live with us in subjection to norms, then we would feel the same obligation."

This would extend not only to banning the supply of arms but to economic aid as well.

"If Cuba should finance a revolution against a government that respects her, it would be a violation of the norm," said Dr. Castro. "If we financed a revolution against a government that did not, it would not be a violation because there would be no norm."

Dr. Castro said Cuba could not agree to withhold "her sympathies and help" from other revolutionary movements. Since, subject to agreement, he had specifically excluded arms and economic aid, it was not clear what kind of help he had in mind.

#### MUTUAL TRUST ESSENTIAL

Dr. Castro said an agreement with the United States would depend basically "on each side having confidence in the good faith of the other." As to some means of international enforcement, he said.

"I don't exclude it, though I think this could only be discussed once there was a disposition for an agreement itself."

As he talked far into the morning—one of the sessions ended at 5 a.m.—Dr. Castro occasionally hooked a booted leg over his chair arm or rubbed his beard.

At one point Miss Sanchez, a slight, intense woman who has been Dr. Castro's assistant since the days in the Sierra Maestra, had some supper brought in. The Premier ate some olives and sausages and drank a little wine as he talked.

Dr. Castro's disclosure that Cuba would pull back her guards from the Guantanamo line and set them up in protected emplacements seemed to be an extraordinary concession in view of Cuba's strong nationalistic line toward the United States.

The Cubans have charged marine guards with more than 1,800 provocations since October 1962. Most of these refer to alleged rockthrowing or pointing of weapons. But in the last month Havana has charged that two Cuban soldiers were injured by shots from the base. The United States has denied this.

Dr. Castro made a point of emphasizing that he believed Washington had nothing to do with the incidents. He attributed them to the desire of politically motivated officers on the base to embarrass President Johnson.

#### REDUCTION A GOOD SIGN

He said the reduction in the rate of incidents over the last few days "was a very good sign." The Cubans plan to put up wire barricades and protected posts for their own soldiers several hundred yards back and thus remove, he said, much of the opportunity for casual incidents.

"We're sorry they are forcing us to use equipment and materiel in such unproductive labor," he remarked, "but it is better. It is a moral duty."

Dr. Castro made a considerable point of contrasting the political temper of the Cuban and the American people.

In contrast with Cuba's propaganda, which represents the Americans as victims of warminded leaders, Dr. Castro suggested that popular political prejudices in the United States might be the principal factor to be overcome before agreement could be reached.

"In my opinion," he said, "the U.S. people are far from the world and its problems. In the United States you had a quiet life, except for the Civil War, and you haven't faced what the rest of the world has."

#### HARD FOR UNITED STATES TO UNDERSTAND

"You are a people that emphasizes work and technical progress. But you don't emphasize social and historical problems, or the political ideas of the world, so it's hard for the United States to understand the Cuban revolution."

"It seems impossible to them that anyone can live any other way than they do. It will be many years before the American people really understand a revolutionary process, but some day this must come."

As for the Cubans, he suggested that they might have a less impassioned view of the United States than the Americans do of Cuba.

"Our people do not hate you. Hatred accumulates when people feel frustrated, hopeless. People here are indignant when there is an attack—but indignation is very different from hatred."

Because of this, Dr. Castro said, it might be easier for him than for U.S. leaders to win acceptance of an understanding. He predicted that an understanding eventually would come.

He remarked that the United States has learned to live as friends with Mexico, having first looked with displeasure on the Mexican revolution in the 1920's and 1930's.

## MORE NEWSMEN WANTED

A preliminary means of achieving understanding, he said, might be visits to Cuba by more U.S. newsmen. After 3 years of virtually excluding U.S. reporters, Cuba is now making cautious efforts to get more to come.

Dr. Castro said recently that, however unfavorably visiting correspondents might write, it could not be worse than having the U.S. press rely on exiles' reports.

Discussing the breakdown of relations between the two countries after the revolution, the Cuban Premier said:

"It is not true that these bad relations were completely imputable to either party. There was the passion and extremism that characterizes the initial phase of any revolution, on our part. On the part of the United States there was the great prejudice about revolutions, the inexperience of U.S. political direction in facing the complex problems of the modern world."

Dr. Castro said the United States, as a mature, powerful nation, has a much greater share of responsibility.

"It could be said, however, that both sides did very little to prevent matters from getting where they did," he added.

## ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS HAILED

With the Alliance for Progress, he said, the United States "had at least the guts to confront some of the problems of Latin America, even if its solutions were inadequate."

If the United States had not decided to oppose the revolution, he said, the process might have been gentler, although the goal of a Socialist state would have remained.

He suggested, however, that the Government would not have had to use the same methods, which he admitted were harsh, and that by now discussions might have begun about indemnifying the United States for seized property.

Preliminary contacts are going on with Shell, a British-Dutch company, and with a French construction company, both of which were seized.

## HOPE SUSTAINS REBELS

Arguing that armed opposition was largely made possible by U.S. support, or the hope of it, Dr. Castro said that if relations were normalized it would no longer be necessary to keep most of the political prisoners in jail. Then, he said, he would have no objection to releasing them and allowing them to remain in Cuba or go abroad.

Dr. Castro's disclosure on a target date for a constitution is likely to be of great interest. The question of when the Cuban revolution will institutionalize itself is one of those most discussed by Cuban specialists.

By setting a date—and assuming he keeps it—Dr. Castro is giving himself four and a half more years in which to make up his mind as to just what sort of revolution he wants it to be.

No one here thinks Dr. Castro will step down once a constitution is adopted. He may well continue to exercise his present role as head of the Government, the army and the party.

By the adoption of a constitution that will set out the nature of the Government and define its relations with the party, the role of Dr. Castro as shaper as well as leader of Cuban society will, by definition, be curtailed.

## AUTHORITY NOW ABSOLUTE

At present, Dr. Castro has the authority, if he wished, to declare Cuba anything from a monarchy to a vegetarian state. With a little preparation, most observers believe, he would have the political power as well.

Dr. Castro said he and the other leaders of the revolution were too busy with other matters—the economy, education, defense—to be able to dedicate themselves now to working out a constitution and the final party structure.

Among matters that would have to be decided, he said, is the form in which the people would participate in the Government—by elections or by other means—and in setting up a structure of local government.

In accordance with the practice in other Socialist countries, Dr. Castro expects that his constitution will assign to the party the supreme role in society, above that of the Government.

Dr. Castro said that before this occurred, "and perhaps soon," a central committee would be appointed by the 12-member national directorate, which he heads. This committee, which will be considerably larger than the directorate, will be the ultimate party authority until the Congress meets, although the directorate will continue to run party affairs, he said.

## SMALL FARMERS HELPED

During the interview, and especially during the tours of the countryside, Dr. Castro took pains to stress the special effort made to improve the condition of the small farmers. These cultivate 30 percent of the farmlands; the state cultivates 70 percent.

"We want them to produce more and to prosper," he said. "Their children may prefer socialist forms of production and many may leave the land. But we do not care if they take 20, 30 or 50 years to disappear. The important thing is that they are contributing to the economy."

Dr. Castro disclosed that the second agrarian reform law, passed last year, which was to have taken all holdings larger than 160 acres, exempted about 80 percent of such holdings in the Sierra Maestra and about 25 percent in Havana Province.

Dr. Castro is assigning teams of agriculture students to teach small farmers the use of grasses and fertilizer and to encourage them to raise more dairy cattle.

[From the New York Times, July 6, 1964]

## HAVANA SUNDAY: EVEN ZEALOTS TAKE A BREAK FROM REVOLUTION

HAVANA, July 5.—It is hot and bright here today, as it is on any Havana Sunday. The sea sparkles and the city gleams yellow and white and ready for use.

It is a day when the Habanero counts his blessings and resigns himself to making the most of them. It is the day he takes some more of the money he got for selling his aunt's piano—she is in Miami—and catches a bus and goes to the coast to a little restaurant he knows.

Defying the country's agricultural difficulties, the laws of thrift and the Voice of America, he has lunch.

The Havana weekend—an effort to wrest a bit of private solace from a week of public concerns—has many activities but Sunday lunch is the high point. The rest of the week the Habanero complains of strained nerves and an unsatisfied stomach. Sundays he suffers triumphantly from indigestion.

Restaurants are crowded with families devouring pickled fish, potatoes, rich, beef, beer, and jam. There is always food left on the plates: the Cuban has not eaten enough unless he can leave some.

## DRAWS FROM SAVINGS

The chief clerk, whose salary is 220 pesos a month (the peso is officially worth \$1), pays 25 or 30 pesos for taking out his wife, three children, his mother-in-law, and a poor friend. He pays for it by drawing down the savings account he started years ago to buy a piece of land, and by skimming the rest of the week.

The Government is eager to absorb the extra spending power that Habaneros still have, in order to ease the pressure on the country's limited production. Setting high restaurant prices and counting on the psychological significance of Sunday lunch is

one way. Another is the introduction of a revised wage scale that has the overall effect of reducing pay above the lowest brackets.

But it seems unlikely that anything will soon break this middle-class city's habit of saving up for the weekend.

It is fair to say that even those most enthusiastic about the revolution need regular breaks from it. Premier Fidel Castro himself spends many evenings silently watching old movies.

## FAMILIES ON WEEKENDS

On weekends the Cuban crowd is composed of families, instead of brigades, work groups and delegations. On Saturdays they fill the nightclubs, which are shabby but loud, or sit on benches around the Parque Central drinking soda pop and listening to a cornet band.

Sunday mornings they swim off beaches east of the city. To the west, the workers' clubs, with their bit of artificial beach, are also crowded. The adults sit in rocking-chairs four deep and watch the sea. The children paddle and dive from the breakwaters.

In the afternoon some go to the races, others to Coney Island, which has a merry-go-round, a rollercoaster and cottoncandy.

In the evening there are long lines for the old American movies, and shorter ones for those from Italy, France, and Poland. Seats are available any time for Russian and Chinese films.

Later, the seawall along the waterfront drive is dotted with fishermen. They bring bait cans, set out four or five weighted lines, smoke, chat, and stay all night.

[From the New York Times, July 8, 1964]

## CASTRO'S OVERTURE

The rapprochement with the United States which Fidel Castro, after many hints, now has proposed openly—and for which he says he would forgo subversion abroad—is encouraging, as is his virtual exclusion of new crises for the moment over American overflights and the Guantanamo base.

In his 18-hour, 3-day interview with our Havana correspondent, Richard Eder, which the Times published this week, Dr. Castro admitted for the first time that Cuba as well as the United States must bear responsibility for the Washington-Havana conflict. His talk of compensation for expropriated American properties, while relegated to the future, recognized these claims as valid. He even praised the Alliance for Progress.

Dr. Castro's timing suggests an attempt to forestall action by the Inter-American Foreign Ministers Conference July 21 that will take up Cuban subversion in Venezuela. But it is likely that there are more important considerations.

The Cuban Premier's offer to halt arms shipments and economic aid to revolutionary movements abroad was conditioned on a halt in foreign—meaning United States—aid to anti-Castro movements. He clearly would like to end the raids and sabotage of exile groups. There also are indications that Moscow, deep in conflict with Peiping and tired of its \$1 million a day aid burden, has been pressing Havana to ease tensions with Washington. But Dr. Castro's chief motivation undoubtedly is a desire to end the American boycott, which has intensified Havana's economic problems.

Economic difficulties abound in Cuba. Sugar output has dropped 40 percent below pre-Castro days. Vehicles, spare parts for machinery, consumer goods, and many foods are short. The national income overall has declined 20 percent over the past 5 years. While the American boycott shows no sign of bringing down the Castro regime, it has thwarted development of the country and created major strains. And it now evidently has helped produce Dr. Castro's bid for negotiations.

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Washington's skeptical reaction insists on performance rather than talk in terminating Cuban subversion abroad. Havana is asked to end its military ties with and dependence on Moscow. But beyond these oft-stated conditions, there is a deep disinclination to agree to the continuation of a Communist state of any kind in the Western Hemisphere.

A modification of this long-established American policy is highly unlikely before the November elections. Whether it becomes an issue afterward probably will depend on Dr. Castro's persistence in pursuing his new conciliatory line.

Meanwhile, it is worth making the effort to find out whether Cuba's Premier really is prepared to halt subversive operations abroad. If a break with Moscow were to be made the precondition for negotiations with Cuba, all chance of a parley would be destroyed before it began, for this is precisely what would have to be negotiated in exchange for a lifting of the American boycott. Elimination of the boycott would, in turn, remove the reason for Havana's economic dependence on the Soviet Union as well as any excuse for military ties with Russia.

The erratic Cuban leader is not a man with whom it would be easy to negotiate. But the offer he now has made is one that at least deserves serious scrutiny and thorough exploration.

[From the Providence Journal, July 7, 1964]

#### CASTRO'S BID WARRANTS FURTHER REVIEW

Fidel Castro hasn't hollered "uncle" to Uncle Sam, but he whispered something that sounded a little bit like it in a lengthy interview reported yesterday.

Speaking with a restraint toward North Americans that he has not shown since he seized power in Cuba in 1959, Castro made a clear bid for a truce in the hostilities that have ranged on many fronts between Cuba and the United States in recent years. His remarks suggested that two lines of U.S. action against Castro's Cuban communism are beginning to hurt. They are:

(1) U.S. support for anti-Castro groups seeking to unseat the Havana regime.

(2) The U.S. trade embargo against Cuba.

Castro specifically offered to halt material support to Latin American revolutionary movements if we will stop supporting his foes. In return for a resumption of U.S. trade, the Cuban dictator offered to discuss indemnities for seized American properties. He also tossed out a number of other hints and promises that appear to have been carefully designed to try to regain the American good will that Castro once enjoyed and which he has systematically destroyed, by word and deed, over the last 5 years. He promised a constitution for his country by January 1, 1969, and he promised to release most of his political prisoners—if we stop supporting counterrevolutionaries. He even had a good word to say for the Alliance.

It would be rash to leap to conclusions from this one interview with a man who has been anything but clear and consistent in his behavior. Castro's record of betrayal of the ideals of the Cuban revolution—underscored by the recent defection of his own sister; his record of blatant anti-Americanism and of intrigue on behalf of our enemies; his record of conspiracy against other Latin governments—all these are too serious and too recent to be quickly forgotten.

But it would also be wrong to take Premier Castro's reconciliation gesture as a sign our policies have brought him to his knees and as a signal to move in for the kill. Unquestionably, the Havana regime is uneasy about the stepped-up activities of its foes. Undoubtedly, our trade restrictions are hurting—before the revolution, Cuba depended heavily on U.S. trade. The Soviet Union probably cannot offer a satisfactory substitute, especially when it comes to supplying spare parts for the American-built industrial

and other equipment which must still make up a large part of Cuba's capital stock. Nevertheless, there is no sign that the Soviet Union is willing to let its Western Hemisphere satellite fall by default. There is still no indication that Castro could be toppled by other than direct American military intervention—a step that no responsible American leader is prepared to take.

We should explore Castro's new mood cautiously, but with the kind of open mind toward new possibilities that Senator FULBRIGHT urged several months ago. Indeed, Castro's remarks may have been prompted by Senator FULBRIGHT's daring suggestion that there is room for accommodation between the United States and Cuba. It is quite possible that Castro is genuinely interested in pulling back from his entangling alliance with the Soviet Union and is wearying of his increasingly futile efforts to stir up trouble on the Latin American mainland. He may be ready to try the role of a Tito. If he is, we should not discourage him.

#### THE REPUBLICAN CHALLENGE— ADDRESS BY SENATOR KUCHEL AT REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on Monday July 13, I was invited to speak briefly at the opening session of the Republican National Convention in San Francisco. I ask unanimous consent that my comments at that time be included in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE REPUBLICAN CHALLENGE

(Remarks of U.S. Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, at the Republican National Convention, San Francisco, Calif., Monday, July 13, 1964)

Mr. Chairman, delegates to the Republican National Convention, my fellow Republicans, ladies and gentlemen, California is honored that our party should choose San Francisco for its convention in 1964, and I am very glad to welcome you to our State and to this city.

Your decisions will be of the most profound importance to the future of our Republic and, beyond that, to the future of mankind. California, now our country's most populous State, has an enormous stake and a lively interest in all that you may do. Republican doctrine, written into law in past years, has helped California to conserve our resources, build our harbors and our highways, expand our education, and irrigate our farms.

Living alongside the Pacific Ocean, and sharing a common boundary with a friendly foreign neighbor, our cosmopolitan, 18 million citizens are drawn from every one of the earth's corners, and perhaps from every blood and faith, and together we share a common pride that we are all free.

Just a century ago, in 1864, your political forbears met in convention in the midst of a civil war. The issue was the American Union—should it remain supreme or should it become subservient? The issue was slavery—should a human being in America be a chattel or should he be free?

The delegates at Baltimore adopted, by acclamation, an American platform dedicated "to the integrity of the Union" and to "the paramount authority of the Constitution and the laws of the United States." It courageously sought an end to slavery. Lincoln was vindicated, and the Union emerged triumphant.

The world has turned over many times since the conflict of the 1860's, but the struggle against slavery, in all its ugly forms, and facets, remains an unfinished task. But

the Republican Party, by its solemn word, again and again has rededicated itself to equal treatment and equal dignity before the law for all our people, rich and poor, black and white, Christian and Jew. And in the worldwide fight against the slavery of godless, imperialistic, international communism, Republican platforms and leadership have consistently pledged a strong America so that we shall remain a free America. We have accepted the inescapable duty of leadership in the global quest for liberty, and for peace with justice, where our new-found nuclear power may serve the human race rather than exterminate it, and obliterate the globe.

San Francisco has memories for you as it has for me. Here, "the town meeting of the world," the United Nations, was born in 1945 to give new hope to a war-weary humanity. Here, that great patriot, General Eisenhower, was renominated by our convention in 1956, to give the country peace and progress for another 4 years.

Republicans, yours is the challenge, to face the dangers and the opportunities, too, of tomorrow. You can rededicate our party to the high road we have been traveling. You can write a platform and select a nominee who will stand before the people and receive their faith. All America fervently prays that you shall have the courage, and the vision, and the wisdom to do the job.

#### CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in accordance with a resolution of Congress, President Johnson designated last week as Captive Nations Week. Each year this week is set aside to remind all of us who today enjoy the full fruits of freedom of the tragic plight of millions of people deprived of their freedom by Communist aggression in Eastern Europe. Likewise, it is set aside to remind all the people of the captive nations that America continues to support their just and rightful aspirations for freedom and self-determination.

Citizens of nations held captive by international communism have been subject to one of the cruelest colonialisms of all times. Their Communist captors have not only taken from them their land and their way of life, but have also sought to destroy their heritage, their history, and their very spirit. Nevertheless, whereas the Soviet Union has succeeded for the time being in conquering their governments, she has utterly failed to capture their hopes, ideals, and will to be free.

Despite the tyranny under which they live, the people of these hapless nations look to the West as a source of hope and inspiration and to the United States as a friend. This was recently seen by the warm and enthusiastic welcome accorded Attorney General Kennedy by the Polish people on his visit to their country. Wherever he went, crowds cheered our Attorney General despite the fact that such demonstrations are discouraged by the Polish Communist government and the visit, itself, was ignored and unpublicized by that government in its state-controlled newspapers and broadcasts.

In recent years we have been encouraged by signs of increased independence among Communist bloc nations. Indications are that the widely reported ideological split between the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union is in-